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THE NEW AGE

JANUARY 1936.
Vol. II. No. 8.

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The Congress Jubilee—The All-India Press Workers' Conference.

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The New Age

VOL. II JANUARY 1936 NO. 8

THE PEASANT—HIS ORGANISATION AND METHODS

By **Prof. N. G. Ranga***

History of Peasants' Organisation.

It will certainly be meaningless for Indian peasants to think or talk of modern methods of production on a collective or co-operative basis and to dream of a more equitable distribution of national income if they are not capable of organising themselves or if they cannot adequately equip themselves for obliging the rest of society to accept and work their programme of economic regeneration. They have fortunately been busy during the last 12 years, i.e., the Gandhian age developing their own organisations. The Bardoli peasant who had drawn from the beginning his inspiration from the rich and growing idealogical fountain-heads of Mahatma Gandhi and Sirdar Vallabhai Patel has had to depend, till recently, upon Congress organisations for his organising strength.

U. P.

The U. P. peasant who rose to such Himalayan heights of organisation, discipline and sacrifice during that all but brief truce period in his campaign for rent reduction had depended so largely if not entirely upon Congress organisations and their source of strength and inspiration Pandit Jawharlal Nehru and his comrade the late Sherwani, that they could not provide themselves with their own independant class-conscious organisation. It is only during this year, a conscious effort has come to be made by Comrade Mohanlal Gautam and others to organise him in his own association and its Provincial Peasants' Conference was presided over by Sirdar Vallabhai.

The Punjab.

The Punjab peasant is divided against himself. The communal

* See the *New Age* for November and December for the other contributions by the Professor on the Indian Peasant.

wrangles have blinded him to indispenable class consciousness. The Muhammadan peasant was able to get passed some useful legislation to effect debt-redemption and consolidation of holdings but he was all the time under the impression that by doing so, he was inflicting an economic blow to his religious opponent, the Hindu. Hence the absence in that Province of any well-organised association either for peasants (Kisans) or for agricultural workers (Kammis). Fortunately attempts are now being made to develop such an organisation.

Bengal

Bengal can boast of a Provincial Peasants' Association and some District Association and though Sir Abdur Rahim and Fazl-u-l Huq had been its successive Presidents, it has scarcely outgrown its communal and *ad hoc* characteristics. The Bihar peasant had at his disposal the services of Rajen Babu since 1916 and hence his strong and conscious organisation. Orissa and Mahratha have been making very good progressing since 1933, thanks to Socialists and Gandhites.

The Andhra Peasant.

The Andhra peasant alone can claim the palm of honour in this direction. As long ago as 1923 definitely conscious political attempts were made to organise him independently. Several congressmen viewed these attempts with great distrust and honest fears were expressed that if such independent peasants' associations were developed, they might come, in time, under the sway of the loyalists and thus be used against national struggle. Despite all such people, some of us persisted in our efforts with the result that by 1929, the twin Provincial Associations to serve the peasants and Zamindari ryots came to be organised. It was in 1929-31 Resettlement agitation in Kistna and two Godavaris, the Famine Relief Agitation of 1928 in Ongole, the Irrigation Extension Agitation of 1926-35 in the Guntur and the Zamindari ryots movement of 1931—35 all over the Andhra which gave a special significance and importance to the peasant movement in the Andhra. The imprisonment of six peasant leaders of the Resettlement Agitation, the lathi charges and shooting outrages in Venkatagiri, the incarceration of 24 peasants' of Bobbili estate, the consigning of thousands of peasants to Civil Debtors' Jail on the instigation of both the money-lenders and Zamindars or Talukdars have lent a special halo to the peasants' movement and created an extraordinary strength to the peasants organisations. The elections to the Local Boards contested by peasants on the ticket of their organisations have by their success demonstrated the strength and power of the peasants' call. Malabar has also organised its peasants since 1933, i.e., in the wake of the visit of Andhra peasants' leaders. Kanara has has had a meritorious record of success achieved by peasants in Forest Satyagraha and the sufferings and sacrifices borne by its peasants will do credit to any nation. But all that work was carried on under the auspices of the Congress. Separate organisations are being organised only during this year.

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Glory to Servants of Peasants.

The contribution made by Gandhites until 1932 and by Congress Socialists in 1933 is invaluable and thanks to the selfless, arduous and painstaking services rendered by thousands of peasants' workers, who owe much of their zeal and moral strength to Gandhian precept, the peasants of India are well on their way to supplying themselves with a well-knit All-India Federation, bringing into its fold the various Provincial Associations which are already in existence or which will soon be brought into existence. It augurs well that my plea for the development of such an all India organisation has

met with a considerable response and the organising committee appointed by the All-India Peasants' Workers' Conference is attempting to bring into existence the All-India Peasants' Federation. The 40 Members of the Assembly who formed themselves into the Peasants Group have declared to the world in unmistakable terms the main principles of the new economic policy for which our peasants stand. This account of the history of the development of peasants' organistion, necessarily very sketchy, goes to prove that the Indian Peasant has definitely become a political being.

Peasants Marches

Though our peasants as well as their organisations are very poor, they have found in their Marches quite an effective means to demonstrate the strength of their discontent against any wrong and demand for any reform. Mahatma Gandhi's Dandi march has again shown the way and the Andhra Peasants Protection Committee has organised such Marches to the Collectors' offices in five places on the sixth of March 1934 and in 18 places on the seventh of November. The latter day, the seventh of November will stand out very prominently in the history of the Indian peasants movement in that thousands and thousands of peasants have come out of their villages in all parts of Andhra with but the bundles of their meagre provisions to protest vehemently and bravely against the apathy and inactivity of Government to save them during the dreadful economic depression and to demand Government, through Collectors, to grant them adequate remission of land revenue. It was indeed a sight for Gods to see those vast hordes of peasants on the move in their caravans all along the long roads leading to the District capitals on that memorable day. It looked as if the whole countryside was up in arms. No wonder Madras Government, the most strong-headed among the Provincial Governments, decided to grant some remission of land revenue first for 12 Districts in 1933, then for all the Districts in 1934, and again in 1935, throughout the Madras Presidency, thanks to the spread of the movement in Tamil Nadu and Malabar also.

This method of demonstrating their discontent and means of publishing their demands has come to be adopted by peasants in various other parts of our country. The C. P. peasants have recently marched twice to their Collectors' offices to demand the organisation of Debt Conciliation Boards for their respective areas. Some Indian States also have come to witness such Marches and it is hoped very soon it will be possible for organising an All-India Peasant March to present the peasants' demands to Government. These Marches bave helped peasants to hold their referendom in regard to their demands; to utilise the Collectors as their agents to appraise Government on their behalf, of their demands, and to educate the public and press in regard to their grievances and needs. Their demonstrative and educative value cannot be over-emphasized.

Peasant Days

It was in 1929 that the Resettlement Peasants' Committee decided to observe the first of November as the Peasants' Day to protest against the Government's proposal to impose 183% enhancement upon the land revenue payable by the peasants of Kistna and two Godavaris. I think that was the first time peasants have massed themselves together to raise an organised furore of their discontent. But the Peasants Protection Committee has organised the first Peasants' week in the first week of March 1933 to demand among other things, land revenue remission and redemption of agricultural indebtedness; that was followed by

another in November 1933 for the same purposes and by yet another in April 1934 specially for demanding immediate legislation to solve the problem of rural indebtedness. The last and the fourth peasants' week was organised in January 1935 to raise funds for the relief of the famine stricken Rayalaseema.

Peasants Institute and Songs.

To train peasants and urban intelligentsia to take enlightened and well-tutored interest in the various aspects of rural reconstruction, several attempts have been made in different parts of India. Shantiniketan, Sabarmati, Wardha Ashrams, Y. M. C. A. Servants of India and servants of the people Socity, Guzerat Vidyapith and Kasi Vidyapith, Masulipatam National College have all sent out their quotas of trained social workers to serve the countryside. But so far only one attempt has been made by the peasants themselves to educate and train their youth not only in the methods of rural reconstruction but also in the new theory of economics, which has been specially evolved to suit their special needs and the typical genius of our rural economy, in the light of the post war peasant developments in the world. The Peasants' Protection Committee of Andhra has organised the Peasants' Institute at Nidubrole, the fortuitous centre of Andhra Peasants' activities for two months in the year, whereat the youths of peasants and workers were given an intensive and purposive education during the summers of 1934 and 1935. I had the honour of being its Principal and I can testify to the fact that the results so far achieved by students justify not only its existence but also any possible multiplication of such institutes in other parts of India. The Pracharak School of Kovvur organised by the General Secretary of the Andhra Zamindari Ryots' Association and the Rural Reconstruction class, run under the direction of Dr. Pattabhi have also contributed their share in acquainting the youth of the countryside with the principles of rural economics. The 'Peasants' Songs' published in Andhra have gone through two editions and are being sung in thousands of villages by Seva Dals and Peasants' Youths. These songs embody the growing revolutionary spirit of the masses.

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IS MACHINE ENEMY TO MAN?

A Theory of Over Production and Less Consumption

By **Scrutator**

The article of Mr. L. V. Mehta welcoming discussion on the unemployment question is a sign that people are getting anxious and serious on the problem. It is a good augury.

That the Europeans have created unemployment (with machines) cannot be an argument in support of Indian machine-breakers who "want to solve" the unemployment problem, as they say. They can be, and it is intended to show they are, as wrong as the Europeans capitalists and socialists, who are for machines and industrialisation without any purpose and hope.

The machines are necessary for any competition in selling. Both anti-capitalists and anti-socialists want to sell and produce as cheaply as possible, especially as other countries are already manufacturing with the aid of machines. Machines are aids in economising the employment of finance capital, even more than in employing labour to the least extent with the highest results. Why pay enormous sums for work by hand and wait long for the products? That is the argument of any man or organisation employing money and trying to sell.

If selling goods goes on, machines will necessarily displace hand labour, even if an Indian Soviet Government decides to employ only hand workers. Otherwise, the production and supply of goods will go on too slowly, not to speak of over-exertion of muscles.

If all these present day machine destroyers came to office, they would look with different eyes. For their state and private interests would then tell them that they can get more revenue out of machines than out of hand labour, and therefore they would start just the opposite theory: Earn by whatever is profitable. Hand can never successfully compete with machines, even where quality work is demanded, especially where mass consumption articles are required.

If it was not for the necessity for competitive selling—selling is always competition—costly machines would neither have been invented nor could have been employed. The inventors would not have found a buyer for their ideas nor the manufacturers would have found buyers for their machines. To-day, good rationalising machines are not sold as much as in the boom years a few years ago, because there is no chance of selling even cheap products turned out with their aid. When the chances of selling are dwindling down, even existing factories are sure to be closed, in spite of the more-machines-the better for employment and selling theorists.

If, however prosperity, *i.e.*, selling, returns, the anti-machinists will themselves become pro-machinists, for the "returns" will be greater with machines than with hands.

The mind can neither force machines to be employed nor prevent their being employed, but only tries to adapt itself in order to get the best

out of the situation so far as it continues. Otherwise, mind changes.

When selling is no longer possible, even hand work will cease to be employed by anti-machinists. When Babu Rajendraprasad or Sj. Kumarappa says that a hand work exhibition will give employment and bread for millions of people, they are only propagating what is obviously impossible. Such a propaganda is possible to make, only when even machine goods are impossible to sell. But if any goods can be sold, this propaganda will be laughed at and laughed out, for machine goods will be more easily sold than hand made goods and there will be no chance for the latter. To-day, even machine goods cannot give work or food and it is ridiculous to expect that hand work will give employment and remuneration. Getting into a new trouble and impossibility is not exactly getting out of another.

The want of employment is not due to machines or industrialisation but only to want of sales. If goods manufactured whether in industry or agriculture cannot be sold with sufficient returns, both machine and hand manufacture, industry and agriculture will cease, cannot be carried on *for selling*. No Bolshevik communism can make them run. Nor the anti-machinists can run on the selling principles: Work must be sold if food had to be got. But if goods cannot be sold, work will cease and food cannot be got. This applies to agriculture as much as to industry and services. No government can be run when selling ceases even if all things are taken over by the state. That is the problem in capitalist countries and Soviet Russia alike: How to sell with sufficient revenue. The crisis is another name, a single word, for the impossibility of selling.

True they cannot solve the problem, that of selling at all with the help of machines. Can India or any other country sell agricultural or hand made products more easily than industrial and machine products? Here dogmatism is employed to say Yes, while in Europe it is employed in favour of industry and machines.

It will take two more pages at least to explain where the trouble for selling arises. It can be proved that currency kills selling instead of facilitating it as it is supposed by all capitalists and socialists: Currency and selling are not twins but sworn enemies.

When, however, selling ceases, as it is coming now to a vanishing point, the question will arise: How to produce goods most rapidly and easily to supply all. At that time, hand work even in agriculture cannot solve the problem. The question in agriculture itself will be: How to employ machines and rationalisation in it, how to industrialise agriculture. Instead of employing a few for long hours of work at hardest jobs, as hand-work theorists want, the first problem will be how to employ all for shortest periods, doing the lightest work. Rationalisation and machines alone can solve the problem and, therefore, will come into existence in all branches more than even tried till now. The anti-machine theorists will be nowhere then, as much as the capitalists and Bolshevik pro-machine theorists are getting nowwhere now.

Why should anyone work longest and hardest when all can produce even more than now with the help of machines working shortest and easiest? Any way, the non-employment of machines will not only not provide employment but also not make selling possible, even if anti-capitalists and anti-socialists cannot sell in spite of the use of the machines. There is no choice amongst them all, nor will machines " stop growing ".

Currency kills Selling

It is stated above that it is not production with hand or machines which

creates unemployment but selling, i.e. selling necessarily leading to overproduction. This point is neither recognised nor examined by capitalists and socialists alike.

There is no mystery about it, but mysticism is the essential part of capitalist and socialist theorists.

A man or a state manufactures goods with the aid of currency. He or it puts a certain amount for labour and materials used. Both must calculate the prices, the cost of managing the production and sale as well as the expenses of the state. But they have paid only the cost of labour and materials. (The latter is again but the cost of labour, instruments and materials, the two latter again containing the cost of labour and materials used plus the cost of management and the state at every point. Therefore the cost of selling will be far higher at every point than the actual cost paid to labour and materials.) When they sell, they must demand far more than what they circulated in producing-even if no profits and interest are taken with the price. It makes no difference whether enormous goods are produced with machines or only a little with the hand. Having started producing by use of money-gold, silver or paper-they must get back the overhead costs of production at least, whether all is sold or only a part. Naturally, the state owners and private owners consider the overhead costs of production as essential costs and therefore consider the selling price as the actual cost price. That is exactly what comples them to sell a part of the goods produced at the total cost of producing same, i.e. recover the actual cost of producing goods, the essential costs, by selling only a part of the goods. This creates necessarily over-production and engenders unemployment-even if no profits or interest and state expenses are taken. But with these far more unemployment is created.

To be concrete, let Soviet Agricultural department employ a certain amount of labour and instruments to produce a certain quantity of materials. x These are paid for with money as well as the overhead costs. The overhead costs represent y money. It tries to sell the goods at x plus y money. Let the Soviet factory B turn out finished goods on the same plan. It will try to sell the total products at X plus Y money. Now if they exchange, agricultural with industrial products, X plus Y must be equal to x plus y money, but it is not. For the capital X is equal to x plus y (small), therefore the agricultural department must pay x plus y plus Y money to get its raw products turned into finished products, otherwise it can only buy a part of the finished products and the rest will be waiting to be sold to some one outside the producing organisations. The state and the bank paying its employees in money, the total real cost of production will be far beyond the sums paid actually in the production and therefore the prices will be far beyond that which actually cost in producing. Otherwise, the cost of the state and the bank cannot be recovered in selling the goods. Since the goods must be sold far beyond the price actually spent in producing them, a large part cannot be sold at all inland, although far greater sums were spent in non-producing activity. They connot do otherwise under any exchange system. Even if no state and bank existed, Agriculture A must exchange its goods with Factory B at a cost which includes its own cost price plus overhead expenses plus all this in addition to Factory B's labour cost plus overhead costs, which is a practical impossibility.

If a raw material producer puts 1 for labour, 1 for instruments and 1 for overhead costs (management) aud the manufacturer puts also 1 for labour, 1 for raw materials and 1 for management, the final products must be sold for the 3 units of the raw material

producer plus for another three of the manufacturer, i.e., the finished products must be exchangeable in spite of that for the 3 of the raw material producer. The raw material producer therefore has to pay for the labour and overhead costs of the manufacturer if the manufacturer has not to become bankrupt and close his factory. Where shall he pay with if he gets only his own cost of production? If he pays, he will be working for the manufacturer without any remuneration, for what he supplies for 3 units is taken away in selling the half of the finished products to him, while the manufacturer has still another half to sell. Unless, he can sell where no money is invested by me and him, the manufacturer cannot recover the overhead expenses of his factory. He has then to close his factory. So he tries to sell to individuals, organisations and countries to whom neither he nor I have paid anything. If that stops, overproduction results reducing employment chances.. In all this we are assuming there is no state, bank or selling expenses to pay, which is not true either of the socialists or capitalists.

That is the relation between industry and agriculture in every country. In manufacturing raw or finished products, goods represent only money, not quantities turned out, simply because money has heen employed to make them. The cost price and overhead expenses must be recovered on the total goods whether plenty or little are produced. It makes no difference, whether the enormous goods are produced with machines or only a little with hands. Having started production by use of money, the raw material producer has also to pay for the instruments and materials of production (plus their labour and overhead costs) and recover them when selling to the manufacturer of finished products, (who again calculates these expenses plus labour and management costs over and above his own labour and management costs when he sells them).

Under any system of exchange, every production of raw materials and manufactured goods necessitates more buyers than producers to cover the full cost of production. management and selling. The selling costs swell with every necessity for selling and overproduction. The men who want to buy must have more money than they earn *i.e.*, are given in the production process if they have to buy up all the goods. If they are given the exact costs to be recovered by the manufacturer, the prices also must be correspondingly increased which again produces the same dislocation in buying and selling.

That is why every production and exchange with the use of money, whether by the soviest or capitalist methods, requires increased markets where no money is spent by the producers. The expansion of markets must be unlimited if all the goods have to be sold to recover the cost of production,

All this comes from the employment of currency in any form.

The New Age will make you A New Man

FASCIST DICTATORSHIP versus PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

By K. Damodaran

There are people who believe and declare that every kind of dictatorship is a menace to the progress of Humanity. They find no difference between a proletarian dictatorship and a fascist dictatorship. Both are dictatorships to them and as such both are instruments of tyranny and oppression. Although their position is not wholly untenable, yet a great misconception of the real nature of both Communism and Fascism is so mischievously at work that while the counter revolutionary role of the Fascist dictatorship is lightly talked of, the revolutionary role of the proletarian dictatorship is completely denied. On the one hand, they notice only the sameness in the two and not difference, on the other, they are incapable of apprehending that absolutely correct Marxist Leninist-Stalinist philosophy that the same tyranny and oppression which become a menace to all progressive movements at the hands of an outgoing time-worn class, are justified within certain scientific limits at the hands of a rising class.

The transition period from capitalism to communism undoubtedly needs a strong dictatorship in order to suppress all the vindictive elements of the defeated bourgeoisie and at the same time discipline the masses for creative work and thus to construct a new social order. To compel the recalcitrant elements of the bourgeoisie to submit themselves to the communist regime is not an easy job. If left alone, if they are given freedom of thought and expression, they will be stimulated to attempt some futile but dangerous reactionary movements. It will prove to be a serious impediment to the achievement of the much-sought-for goal—the establishment of a classless society. An opportunity to put in practice a successful five-year-plan and again a second five-year-plan which are undoubtedly two of the most courageous steps to achieve that goal would never have occurred in Russia, had the Soviet proletarians heeded the futile cry of the turbulent bourgeoisie for a so-called democratic government. When every capitalist country is terrifically hit by the great economic depression, Russia alone is raising high her head and going on with her praiseworthy constructive programme. Illiteracy which had obscured the vision of the real revolutionary elements has been completely overcome, and a new joy, a new hope, is spurring them on to such activity as has been witnessed by capitalist country till now. Let me quote Mr. H. F. Hecker, the well-known communist author, to explain the real conditions of Russia :—

" Centralization of efficiency is essential and not contradictory to our goal as long as it does not become tyranny. The relation between the party and the great mass of the toiling population is organic and amicable. Our dictatorship is only dreadful to our class enemies, who in this country are practically wiped out. A few remnants linger. These have long lost their faith in themselves. Their hopes are staked upon foreign intervention. Our masses do not feel and are not conscious of a dictatorship, since they are the dicta-

tors. Our masses are the severest critics of the whole Soviet system, including the party. Step by step, the function of government dies its natural death replaced by social organization. When the people have acquired the habit of social living, when class differences have disappeared, not only in our country, but among our near and distant neighbours the state as a vehicle of force, as the 'Big Club' will disappear.

If the interests of the proletariat are extremely at odds with those of the bourgeoisie, is there any hope at all that a common democratic platform can be established for discussion or legislation? Capitalism in dotage, if left free, will carry on till its last breath an incessant struggle against the achievement of the classless society, because it knows too well that such a society will mean an end to its tyrannical exploitation of the majority of human beings. The capitalists are wise enough to foresee that in a classless society they cannot see the masses languishing in the lowest depths of poverty in order to supply them with all the luxurious amenities of life. This is why the proletariat wants to put an end to the existence of the bourgeoisie as a class and establish a society of no classes—a sociey in which the contradiction in the means of production and distribution have been finally solved and this all through a transitory classform of proletarian dictatorship. When capitalism is crushed there will be necessarily a transition period before the final goal is reached. In that period the state must function as a weapon of compulsion to eliminate all the reactionary elements, and to help and encourage the masses to prepare themselves for embracing a communist society. But when that final stage is reached, compulsion will have ceased and the world can for the first time see a real form of individual liberty which cannot even be imagined in a capitalist society. Under communism, everyone will contribute according to his capacity and will receive according to his necessity. The dictatorship will wither away with the disappearance of the antagonistic classes. Till then, as long as the class-stratified society lives, the proletarian dictatorship should continue to function.

The best qualities of democracy in a "free" bourgeois state exist only in imagination ! Such a democracy cannot flourish. It is really a trick of the bourgeoisie to keep the class contradictions under cover and avoid the inevitable transformation. It justifies the shameless exploitation by the classes in power. thus helping them to perpetuate their oppression of the subjugated classes. Real democracy can never exist in a society full of classes. It is not possible in Britain, nor America nor France where one after another clique of demogogy succeeds in deluding the masses, as long as it does not come into power ; but no sooner it attains power than it assumes its naked shape—the shape that belongs to the bourgeoisie.

Now, what is a Fascist Dictatorship ? In fact, where does it differ from the proletarian dictatorship ? The latter is, as we have explained already, a temporary measure which is inevitable during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. It is not, as people misinterpret it, a tyrannical rule. It is a dictatorship of the overwhelming majority of the toiling masses. Fascist dictatorship, on the other hand, is, so to say, a permanent institution invented in order permanently to preserve the bourgeois rule in society—the rule by a minority without the consent of the ruled majority. In the words of John Stratchey, " Fascism denies everyonh of the assumptions upon which the progressive movement is based. Fascism proclaims, as it will be easy to establish both from Fascist words and Fascist deeds, that the whole great hope, by the light of which the peoples of the West have lived for a century,

is a great illusion : that Democracy is a decaying corpse, international peace a coward's dream, equality of opportunity a chimera, the conquest of poverty a futile vision." Fascism gives a divine sanction to a disastrous and permanent division of social classes, while socialism aims at a classless society in which everyone is happy and all are equal.

"Fascism", says Mussolini, "conceives the state as an absolute, in comparison with which all individuals or groups are relative only to be conceived of in their relation to the state." This means that under the hegemony of the capitalist class the Fascist dictatorship wants to control the thinking of the masses and to keep them for ever in ignorance and poverty. The whole role of Fascist dictatorship can be understood only when the class forces in a particular capitalist society have been analysed in a scientific manner. What are their developments? In brief, it can be said that the capitalist class is no more capable of maintaining its pseudo-parliamentary rule on account of the danger of the proletarian revolution. The vast number of unemployed de-classed petty bourgeois elements are giving expression to an all the more discontent society, side by side with the unrest of the working class which is on the point of being class-conscious, but which has not yet come perfectly out of the influence of social democracy which is only a form of the right bourgeois manouevre. Objectively, to maintain its old rule, capitalism in decay becomes the most oppressive, most barbarous and the most imperialistic bourgeois regime.

The proletarian dictatorship has poured new blood into the withered veins of masses while the fascist dictatorship has actually demoralized them. The broad masses of Russia see in Stalin not a harsh tyrant, but a loving comrade. Mussolini and Co., on the other hand, are the most dangerous and the most treacherous enemies of Humanity.

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THE BANDIT

A SHORT HISTORICAL SURVEY

By **'X' Ray**

The bandit.—The emergence of this social type synchronises with the rise of class society i.e., with the rise of the social system based on exploitation of man by man.

The dissolution of primitive tribal communist society gave rise to class society based on the exploitation of one section of society by the other. In class society, those who own and control the conditions of production exploit those who do not own those conditions. To safeguard their physical existence, the latter are forced to place their labour power at the disposal of those who own such basic conditions of production as land (source of food, a fundamental condition of human existence), raw materials, means of production etc. The owners exploit the labour power of the non-owners. Without themselves toiling and participating in the process of production, they deprive the non-owner toilers of a substantial portion of the fruit of their toil, reducing the latter to conditions of starvation or semi-starvation.

Class society assumed three historical forms : slave society, feudal society and modern capitalist society. The slaves, serfs and modern working class represent the three toiling and exploited categories, exploited by slave-owners, feudal nobility and the class of capitalists respectively.

The exploiting class always needed and maintained state apparatus to maintain the monopoly of the conditions of production (private property in means of production) and to crush the resistance of the toiling classes to the exploitation which they were subjected to by the master class.

In spite of this, the toilers have always offered resistance to the exploiters in all class societies, in all epochs, and in all lands. There have been bloody rebellions, insurrections, and other forms of resistance which toiling humanity always, spontaneously or consciously, organized against the exploiting section.

There took place in slave society frequent and sanguinary struggles between the slaves and the slave-owners. The Spartacus Revolt, the heroic revolt of the Roman slaves against Roman slave-owners, is one of the blazing instances of this.

The feudal epoch witnessed numerous militant actions of the exploited serfs against the exploiting feudal nobility. In feudal Europe, the anti-feudal ferment among the serfs reached such dangerous proportions that the Pope, the spiritual leader of feudalism, and various feudal princes, conspired to direct the spirit of rebellion rampant among the serfs to harmless (to the feudal order) channels. There is documentary evidence (read the illuminating historical work of Eugene Sue, "Mysteries of the People" or the "History of a Proletarian Family across ages") showing how the Crusades were started and organized as a safety valve for the gathering indignation and will to smash feudalism among the serfs, for dissipating the revolution-

ary energies and will of the serfs in a series of crusades.

In the capitalist epoch in which we live, decisive struggles are taking place between the contemporary class of exploiters, the capitalists, and the rest of the society—the workers and other strata whom the capitalists in alliance with the landlords exploit.

The struggle between the exploiters and the exploited is ancient and as old as exploitation itself.

In addition to the mass revolts of the exploited classes, there have been in all epochs—till to-day—individual rebellions against the exploiters.

Robin Hood, Stanka Rezin (in Czarist Russia) and such other bandits have led small-scale struggles against people's oppressors and exploiters in all countries and epochs.

Standing outside the pale of law, with price fixed on his head, making inaccessible mountain cave or the dark core of a thick forest as his home and base of operations, the bandit has existed in all class society, carrying on his own peculiar type of warfare against people's exploiters and oppressors.

Raiding villages, attacking and expropriating the wealthy village exploiters, challenging the state power of the oppressors, distributing the seized wealth of the wealthy among poor classes, heroic, intrepid, generous-hearted, the Bandit has always been the object of popular awe as well as admiration.

There is no people on the earth which has not unwritten literature in the form of folk-lore describing in song the heroic deeds of the Bandit. Children of the oppressed, their women and they, love to sing those songs, to narrate the tales of the intrepid bandit, the relentless enemy of the rich oppressor but a steadfast friend of the poor.

They thrill the heart, these tales narrating the heroic exploits of the bandit. A boisterous vitality, a good-humoured sarcasm against the hated exploiter, permeates these tales.

These tales galvanize, strengthen, infuse courage in the hearts of the oppressed, who feel the bandit as the flesh of their flesh and the bone of their bone.

The oppressed rejoice to feel that the oppressor did not go unchallenged and oppressions did not go unattacked.

The Bandit operated against the wealthy and the state of the wealthy successfully, for he commanded the sympathy of the mass of toilers who helped him to escape, gave information in advance, provided food and even harboured him when the officials of the rich man's state sought to capture him.

The bandit did not know Marxism. He did not know the root cause of all exploitation—the monopoly of the means of production. He divided society into rich and poor and not as exploiters and exploited. He did not understand that poverty and wealth are the *results* of exploitation of human labour power (creative productive force) by the monopolist owners of means of production. The bandit struck at the rich and the rich man's state. He robbed the wealth and distributed it among the poor. Still, again the contrast, the chasm creating wealth on one hand and precipitating poverty on the other reappeared for till the class monopoly of the means of production survives, no amount of heroic forcible redistribution of wealth periodically achieved by armed bandits or voluntary parting with their wealth by ethically moved wealthy humanitarians can prevent the reappearance of the social contrast of rich and poor.

Still, the bandit struck at the exploiter for he concentrated in him the flaming hatred of the poor against the rich. If the bandit could not free humanity from oppression and exploitation, he still dreamt the dream of a free humanity without rich or poor.

The bandit embodied the flaming spontaneous hatred of the poor oppressed and exploited for the rich oppressor and exploited. He embodied their militant will of the slaves to smash the chains of slavery.

That is why in all epochs, in all societies, the bandit is the hero of the oppressed classes who sing his brave deeds in ballads and other forms of folk-song. For, they feel that, he, the bandit, is the flesh of their flesh and the bone of their bone, the mortal irreconcilable enemy of the hated rich and never-failing friend of the poor.

But the bandit, too, is a historical category, a social type which is the product of a definite historical epoch. He is the conscious result of the collision of classes, exploiters and exploited, embodying the undying hatred and fighting will of the exploited to the exploiters. But since exploitation and struggle against exploitation themselves like private property which gives birth to them, are historical categories, with the vanishing of all these at a certain stage of economic evolution (communist society), the social type, the bandit also will vanish from the social world.

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CURRENT AND CROSS CURRENT

By **Search-Light**

The inability to understand *dialectic* interconnections between objective processes lead to dangerous errors in evaluating the role of political of economic events. It also leads to the adoption of incorrect attitude to those events and therefore to mistaken tactics.

To illustrate: There are people who see in hunger a force that *leads to* mass revolt and freedom. This is not true. There may be any amount of hunger, starvation or semi starvation but still if those who suffer the excruciating pain of hunger do not become conscious, are not convinced of the *necessity* of fighting hunger, of overthrowing the economic structure which breeds hunger, of organizing and developing a political struggle for capturing state power to end the extant economic system, the people will only die of hunger. Hunger does not lead to freedom, to socialism. It is mass struggle against hunger, mass struggle to end capitalism, which leads to freedom and socialism.

* * *

Hunger leads only to heaven and not to socialism.

Another illustration; There are people who welcome war since according to them war leads to revolution. This also is not true. Unless the masses in the belligerent camps who are engaged in war, in mutual extermination, do not realise that wars are the product of inter-capitalist rivalries for the seizure ard re-division of world territory and world market, they do not revolt against war and the capitalist system, which generates wars. It is again not war that leads to revolution but a conscious struggle to end war which leads to revolution. The connection between war and revolution is dialectical *ie.* that of a conflict.

If it were not so and those who expound the formula "War leads to Revolution" were correct, it would become obligatory and useful (from the standpoint of the development of Revolution) to support every hunger decree and terror measure promulgated by the capitalist state. And since, in the spirit of this formula, every strike struggle can be explained as the product of wage-cut and other forms of offensive on labour by capital, the leaders of the working class who want to develop the strike struggle to strengthen the class consciousness of workers, must support every wage robbery and attack on the standards of the workers.

Capitalism does not lead to socialism. It is the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against capitalism that leads to socialism.

* * *

Mr. Vallabhai Patel in one of his recent statements remarked.

"Mahatma Gandhi though he did not use the economic language for fear of being mistaken for a socialist was a practical socialist." Mahatma Gandhi is here assumed to be a socialist who, concealing his socialist identity is working for socialism. What is socialism? We do not know whether Mr. Patel has any reconstructed definition of socialism to suit the needs of capitalist preservation. But the universally accepted and known definition of

socialism is that socialism is a system of society based upon social ownership of the means of production.

When did Gandhi challenge and seek to destroy the capitalist ownership of the means of production? He more than on one occasion, assured the property-owners that if private property is menaced by any mass movement, he will stand for the defence of property rights.

When Gandhi categorically declares himself a partisan of property rights and pledges to fight for its perpetuation, his lieutenant, Sardar Patel parades him as a practical socialist.

A practical socialist whose practice consists in helping the capitalists to introduce wage cuts (recent award in the dispute over wage cut of the Ahmedabad mill workers), in the fogging the consciousness of the workers with the mist of class collaboration illusion, in betraying peasants when they start struggle against their exploiters, zamindars, usurers is not a socialist.

IS SOCIALISM INEVITABLE?

By

P. V.Raghavaiah B.A.

Formulation of the problem :

This is a subject much debated both in the press and on the platform. This problem is drawing the attention of all shades of opinion and commented upon in various ways. Here our endeavour is to approach the problem dispassionately from a scientific point of view.

In order to understand what kind of social order is going to replace the present capitalist order of society, in order to know what sort of political institution would succeed our present one, we must fully comprehend the laws of historical evolution. What is the law which is underlying the different changes in history? Why is it that history has travelled in the particular course as we find it? We cannot think of history as a mere succession of chances without any law whatsoever that brings the events together; we cannot regard history as the product of a purely individual spontaneity of the actions of the individual men. It is evident that there must be certain causes for all historical phenomena, fcr all the changes and transitions in history. The whole human history, in fact, is a development of our social and political relations. What is the underlying cause of this development? Why is it that forms of human society have changed at different periods of history? Why is it that a particular social order has been replaced by another particular order of society? What is the reason behind the fact that feudalism was replaced by capitalism and the patriarchal order of society had been formerly succeeded by the feudal order? Why is it, further, we may ask that the present day capitalist order of society is going to be destroyed and would be replaced by a new socialist order? It is evident from the very formulation of the above questions that an answer to them will prepare the ground for the soultion of the glaring question *"Is Socialism inevitable?"*

Philosophical Foundation.

To do justice to any problem we have to analyse it from all its sides. The chief factor either for its strength or for its weakness is its philosophical side. Therefore it is necessary

to go into its philosophical foundation.

Any phenomena whether it is natural, social or individual can be studied and understood in general from two angles of vision. The first method is to view the phenomenon by itself, separate and distinct from other phenomena prevailing at that time, to take the phenomenon as an abstract and absolute one, to take the phenomenon as a thing by itself and as a unit which has no connection with any other concept or phenomenon. The second view is to view a phenomenon not by itself but as a link in a chain connected with many other links, to view it in its state of development in past, present and future, that is, to view the phenomenon taking into consideration its past, present and future relationships with other phenomena.

An illustration.

Let us take one example of falsehood. Telling lies in general is considered as a disgraceful, mean and obnoxious trait in man. Supposing one man is seriously ill. He is taken to a physician. The physician after diagnosing the case properly found that the patient would not survive. Now there are two courses opened for the physician either to tell the bare truth that he would not survive or to tell a lie. Let us examine the consequences of the two methods if followed. If the physician tells truth he would cause great pain and agony to the patient and to those who are near and dear to him. If he utters a lie he would lessen the pain and agony. Which course should he take? The disciples of the first method say because falsehood is immoral he should not tell lie. They do not take into consideration the time, the place, and the circumstances under which he is telling a lie and the consequences therefrom. The disciples of the second method say that the physician should say a lie in the name of mercy and justice in order to lessen the agony and pain. They consider that uttering a lie under these circumstances is morally and ethically justified. The first method is called the "metaphysical method" and the second is called the 'Dialectical Method'. Metaphysicians view a phenomenon as an isolated link in a broken chain whereas the Dialecticians view a phenomenon as a link in a chain connected with many other links.

Hegel proved that the world in general as well as the animate and inanimate objects are not always one and the same things. They always change. They are always in a state of development. Therefore a thing at this moment will be different from the same a moment ago. Everything changes with each succeeding moment.

Just as it is impossible to designate the exact location of a running train so also it is quite impossible for us to characterise or describe exactly a thing which is ever changing. If we want to understand a phenomenon we have to view it historically its state of development from its origin to the end. We have to see how it has developed. How it has evolved to this stage. How it will change and evolve in future resulting from the changes up till now. In order to have a correct picture of a thing we have to take into consideration all its changes in all its developments. Unless we view in this manner our view of anything will not be correct. We cannot conclude because certain law was suitable and good at a certain time, it is suitable to the present time. A thing which was good once under those conditions may be bad now under the present conditions. Therefore we cannot say any law or any institution is absolutely good or bad. It is good as well as bad at one and the same time depending upon the circum-

stances and conditions present which react upon it.

To illustrate:

There are two school boys by name Rama and Krishna and their going to school is considered to be good for them. On a particular day Rama fell ill and he could not go to school. In general school going for both of them was no doubt good. But here on this particular day (in the same time) school going was good for Krishna and bad for Rama. Therefore at one and the same time school going was both good and bad due to conditions and circumstances present.

Hegel not only showed us the constant changing process of everything about us but he also showed us how this change and development takes place. He also showed us the forms that phenomenon assumes in its state of change and the relation of these forms to one another.

We have seen a thing to be both good and bad. A thing at certain time may be good and the same at other time may be bad. A thing is a sumtotal of good and bad qualities. As these qualities interchange—a good quality becoming bad and *vice versa*—the phenomenon assumes different forms in its state of development. These forms are reciprocal and contrary to one another. Thus Hegel formulated his Law of Negativity, the rule 'that all of nature and society are nothing but a series of contradictions of positives and Negatives, thesis and antithesis. Therefore Hegel says the essence of the world is not this or that exclusively. It is this as well as that. It is a synthesis of thesis and antithesis. Life is full of contradictions. The true life is the synthesis of thesis and antithesis. Our sex is opposite the other. When these two opposite sexes unite in obedience with the natural laws off-spring results. The child (synthesis) is the result of two contradictions i.e., two opposite sexes thesis and antithesis. Therefore we find that the child is a composition of the qualities of both father and mother.

Everything whether it is an idea, belief or a phenomenon develops dialectically passing through contradiction. According to Hegel the soul of the world is an '*Absolute Idea*' with full of cross currents running each against the other (i.e., thesis and antithesis). According to him since every organism, every event and every idea is a reflection of the 'world idea' (i.e., Absolute Idea) so must every organism, event and idea must develop dialectically through contradictions.

This Dialectic method which was developed by Hegel served Karl Marx to investigate into our social life and find laws governing our social life. The dialectic method served Karl Marx like a sign-post on a road. Had it not been for this dialectic method the laws governing our social life would have been in mystery. This method was like a torch for Marx to dispel the darkness and find out the exact laws governing our social life which are the basis of the modern scientific socialism. It is wrong to consider that scientific socialism is based upon Hegel's dialectic method. The method only helped Marx to think dialectically. Marx proceeding dialectically found that the exact opposite of Hegel's conclusion was correct. According to the conception of Hegel, the Nature surrounding us, events and phenomena happening are a reflection of the 'World Idea' i.e., 'Absolute Idea'. According to him the external world is a reflection of the 'Absolute Idea'. That is, according to him the supreme governing body is 'Absolute Idea'. Therefore we find that even though Hegel got rid of metaphysics, he did not get rid of idealism. Marx as a free thinker without having any faith in spirits or devils has gone further to find out the true cause for

the changes in the external world. Marx maintained that the cause for the dialectical development is the fact that the external world develops dialectically. We think dialectically because the things of which we think are dialectic. Our opinions, beliefs and convictions are the reflections of the external world. According to Hegel the supreme ruler of life is "Absolute Idea" whereas according to Marx the supreme ruler of life is "Corporeal Nature." Marx proved that Hegel's theory is topsy-turvy and he placed the theory rightly on its legs by concluding that the external world is the cause and our convictions, beliefs and thoughts which are the reflections of the external world as the result.

AN ANALYSIS OF "ABSOLUTE TRUTH."

By

K. Patankar

Gandhism is propagated as the supreme cult of 'Truth' and 'Non-Violence' and Gandhi hailed as the supreme theoretician and practician of that cult.

We shall investigate into that claim. First, what is ' Truth'?

Philosophically and historically, there are no absolute, eternal truths. All truths are relative, for the time being.

Reality and social reality as a component part of it, is in a constantly developing state. It develops through the inter-action and conflict of contradictions of which it is composed. As Lenin puts it, Development is the struggle of the opposites.

The capitalist society is the contemporary reality. It is composed of struggling opposites, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The class struggle between these two social categories is the lever of all historical development to-day.

This class struggle is the supreme reality, the 'truth' of to-day's society. Gandhi denies this 'truth' and denying it he becomes a conscious partisan of propagating the 'untruth' of "class collaboration," of the common interests of the capitalists and the workers, of the landlords and the tenants.

The 'united nation' with homogeneous interests is a fiction. The interests of the capitalists and the workers, the landlords and the tenants, are irreconcilably antagonistic, mutually exclusive, and as such can be fought out only through the medium of a ruthless class struggle.

The conflict of interests between the exploiters and the exploited is objectively existing. By subjectively denying this conflict, the objective existence of this fact, this social 'truth' cannot be liquidated.

Those who deny this conflict of interests do not propagate correct ideas regarding the extant social structure.

But whose interests are fulfilled and strengthened by the propagation of the gospel of 'Truth?'

Those of the exploiters only—because the propaganda of abstract 'truth' serves as a blind to the exploited masses. The attention of the slaves and the serfs is diverted from the real 'truth' of class exploitation.

That is way these apostles of 'Truth' are properly looked after, their propaganda campaigns financed by the

class that benefits by their preachings, the class of capitalists and landlords.

Every social form is composed of two opposites and opposing tendencies. One retards, the other accelerates further social development.

Capitalism developed within the womb of Feudal Society. Feudal Society was a social form composed of two warring social forces, the moribund feudal elements installed in dominant position and the developing virile historically creative elements.

Why do we call the feudal forces reactionary and the developing capitalist elements as historically progressive?

This is the most crucial point. What is the basic criterion for judging a social system or pronouncing upon the role of a social class.

When do we say that a social system has outlived its historical usefulness? When do we say that a social class no longer helps social evolution and degenerated into a hindrance to social progress?

In short, when do we say that a social system and a social class have in the process of evolution, become from 'real' to 'unreal' ie, from 'truth' historical to 'untruths'?

The supreme criterion of the 'truth' of a social system or a class is this: whether the social system permits the further development the productive forces, whether the social class which arises as the operator (not necessarily conscious) of the extant mode of production develops these productive forces.

This supreme criterion for judging the validity or invalidity of the historical existence of a social system or a social class, of the 'truth' or 'untruth' of that system and that class,—this supreme criterion is derived out of the fundamental interests of humanity, of the human race.

Mankind is in a constant struggle against its environs. In this age-long ancient struggle, man has been progressively increasing his control and mastery over the forces of nature.

This conquest, this mastery, is embodied in the historically developing productive forces of man, the means of production.

In feudal society, the new forces of production which the new class, the bourgeoisie created and organised,—the socio-economic relations determined by these new forces of production came into collision with the material framework of the feudal society and the class interests of the feudal nobility.

The social form called feudalism put obstacle to the development of productive forces of man. The social class called nobility used its state power, the feudal state machine to suppress those new productive forces and the new class, the bourgeoisie, who developed these forces.

The increased and increasing conquest over Nature embodied in the new productive forces developed by the bourgeoisie could not be assimilated by feudal society.

Feudalism from the historical interests of humanity had become 'unreal', become an obstacle to social development.

Feudalism had become an 'untruth'. Rising capitalism—because it developed productive forces—was the new 'truth'.

The new 'truth' carried within itself the historical energy and revolutionary vitality. It shattered the old decadent 'untruth' of feudalism and shunted the locomotive of history on the path of new social development, the path of capitalist economic and cultural develepment of man.

But there are no absolute truths.

Capitalism which was once the historical truth has after reaching ascendancy has decayed into its present Imperialist form.

Capitalism has become 'unreal', an 'untruth'.

Why ?—Judged from the same basic criterion which we applied to the feudal society, capitalism too now has lost its vital historical energy to serve the basic interests of mankind in his struggle against Nature i.e., the development of productive forces.

Capitalism which once developed productive forces at an amazing rate (a lyrical picture of this achievement of capitalism can be found in the world-celebrated Communist Manifesto), to-day stifles the further development of this productive forces.

Choked by the products of its own industries, oppressed by the nightmare of an ever-shrinking world market, spurred on by competitive necessity, capitalism in its present Imperialist form, instead of developing productive forces further, organizes a mass slaughter of these productive forces.

It destroys the productive forces (witness the ruined or unutilized factories, mines, workshops). It organizes a limitation of production (Roosevelt's New Deal). It burns its own products to establish monopoly prices, destruction of coffee, wheat, cucumbers, milk, eggs etc. in Brazil, U. S. A., BRITAIN etc.)

Capitalism now becomes an obstacle to the development of productive forces, has lost its historical right to live. It has become an 'untruth'.

Capitalism not only destroys productive forces (including scientific inventions) and products. It organises the mass slaughter of living productive forces, tho creative elements of humanity, viz. the working strata through Fascist terrorism at home and Imperialist wars abroad.)

Capitalism is no longer economically and culturally a creative force. It has been transformed into its opposite, a force of arch-destruction of the historical, social, cultural values it itself created (such as Materialism in philosophy, development of Natural Sciences). Contrast Voltaire, Holbach, Helvetius, Diderot, the Materialist Ideologies of the revolutionary bourgeoisie with Spengler, Russel, Eddington, Jeans, the Idealistic representatives of decaying Imperialistic bourgeoisie.

Fascist Germany is the smoke-house of the economic and cultural incendiary work organized by the desperate, brutalized, capitalist class of Germany in the grip of a deep crisis.

Fascist Germany is only a part of the capitalist world in a state of increasing unstable equilibrium. Everywhere capitalism is cracking and crumbling to pieces.

Capitalism is the hideous 'untruth' of to-day. It is the historical task of the new class, the proletariat, to mow down the monster of world capitalism and establish the socialist society, the new vital 'truth' of history.

Gandhi supports a decaying capitalism which has become historically an 'untruth,' a decisive impediment to the advance and establishment of a new virile 'truth', the truth of world socialism.

By not joining the socialist struggle Gandhi is opposing the new 'truth' and is the partisan of and in the camp of the defenders of the 'untruth' of decaying capitalism.

The historical 'truth' and the class 'TRUTH' of the historically progressive class are identical. The historical 'truth' and the class 'truth' of the historically reactionary and counter-revolutionary class come nto collision.

For what is the historical 'truth'? By historical 'truth', we mean the historical interests of mankind, the socio-biological interests of the human species.

And what is the class 'truth' of the historically progressive class? To-day it means the interests of the world proletariat leading the world toilers to liberate themselves from world-wide capitalist exploitation.

But the proletariat leading all non-proletariat toilers cannot end exploitation at the hand of capitalists, without even throwing capitalism.

But while ending capitalism to achieve its own class emancipation, the proletariat also liberates the productive forces (all material and cultural gains of ages which the bourgeoisie now threaten with destruction) from the choking capitalist social form.

The proletariat by this act not only serves its own class-interests but also the historical interests of the human race, its interest in developing productive forces as a weapon in its struggle against the present order.

The class interests of the socialist proletariat and the historical interests of the human race are identical.

That means, the class 'TRUTH' of the worker and the historical 'truth' of the epoch coincide.

THE POST-WAR WORLD

By **V. Rangaswamy Iyengar**

At present it is Big Business and Militaris in rule everywhere and the Socialist forces find the present environment too obstructive and hard to break.

The world is threatened with revolutions and wars. In this condition, in Europe, prospects for the establishment of Socialist States by peaceful means are really gloomy. Yet the Labor parties everywhere, are working out programmes that might treat environments favourable for its upward march.

By whatever name a social order could be called, Humanity is in search of a social order in which wealth and welfare could exist.

At the present time, the Five year plan of Soviet Russia, deserves study for the chief reason that several leading governments in Europe and America have taken materials from it for evolving their own national plannings. The Russian plan, came to existence in this way. Age long sufferings under czardom were intensified by severe famine, disease rebellions, for during the later part of the late war, which created conditions favourable to revolution. The aim of the Russian revolution was the establishment of a Communist State. The revolution succeeded in abolishing capitalism. Out of chaos and confusion, a stable society on communist principles had to be evolved. The leaders of the revolution learnt from experience that communist principles could not be translated into action all in a sudden and were confronted with all sorts of difficulties in carrying on with their work.

They however, found, suggestions in the main ideas contained in a scheme of planned society worked out for Great Britain by the two distinguished evolutionary socialists, Mr. and Mrs. Webb. They are rightly named as the prophets of a new order as their after-war writings show. Their scheme is based on their experience of the working of the two mass movements—the Trade Union movement and the consumers co-operative movement as well as with several institutions connected with Local Government. Besides Mr. Webb was a Cabinet member in the two Labor Governments.

These two mass movements were provoked by hard conditions to which

workers were subject to in the capitalist concerns.

These two movements were working independently of each other till the atmosphere in England, was filled with war-clouds.

The Webbs pointed out the necessity for their joint action for resisting the forces of capitalism and shewed there was no antagonism between the view points of both. It was realised that man is both a producer and a consumer. The Trade Union, approached Socialism from the point of view of production while the latter from the consumer's stand-point of consumption. These two aspects are reconciled in their scheme. Every trade Unionist in England is now a co-operator and every co-operator a Trade Unionist. Their scheme is known as Socialist or Co-operative Commonwealth.

The ideal of the Socialist Commonwealth, say and Mr. Mrs. Webb is progressive assimilation of the poor nation with the nation of the rich, the abolition of all class distinctions based on pecuniary means and even the obliteration of any fundamental cleavage between the brain working professions and the manual working class. This is socialisation of life of a community as a whole. The commenwealth classifies all individuals high or low under one head and they are ranked as workers—hand workers and brain workers. The Commonwealth Society will be a huge work shop in which all workers in Co-operation, will produce goods and services not for profit but for their consumption or use. From annual production, a portion will be set apart for future production and use. The Government central as well as local are to be maintained mainly from profits or surplus realised from sales of articles of industries worked out by them, whenever necessary these incomes will be supplemented by taxation or raises.

The Co-operative movement will produce goods and services for family consumption. In short the Government central and local, obligatory democracy of citizens and consumers in conjunction with consumer co-operation will control all means of production and supply goods and services for the use of various members of the commonwealth departments of state, families and every other institution established for the use of man. The Trade Union movement (democracy of producers) will not be an organ of revolt but will co-operate with the management in increasing natural wealth and in promoting social welfare. There will be ample scope, for small industrialists, traders, technicians and in the scheme.

Private enterprises will continue to exist for a long time to come which will be subject to rules and regulations made by government.

Measurement and publicity are the two guiding principles underlying the industrial system. In the regulation of national economy—production, marketing and consumption—there will be no wastage. Enterprises suited to each region will be established and a quota of production will be fixed for each enterprise and the goods will be carried direct to places where, they are to be consumed without intermediaries. As the goods to be consumed would be determined previously there will be no room for over production and for all its attendant evils.

This is the broad outline of the Industrial System envisaged in their scheme.

The political constitution in the Commonwealth society will be a true democracy, in the sense that it is expected to fulfil the hopes entertained by the fathers of the American constitution. Man is not merely a political animal as was supposed but he is found to possess—three fold aspectaman as producer, man as consumer, and man as citizen. The acts of government will give effective expression to the collec-

tive will of the people in these three fold aspect. In short the constitution will vindicate the sovereignity of the people in an effective manner.

Every department of life will be effectively organised on a scientific basis, and the constitution will provide, for the expression of true public opinion regarding every phase of life.

The main ideas contained in the Planned Society of Mr. and Mrs. Webb were found helpful in working out the Five year plan of Soviet Russia which has produced a society which stands for solidarity and mass welfare. Why, the Five year plan has drawn world wide attention will, be gauged from its varied achievements. Prominent among them may be mentioned here.

Russia was not affected by world wide crisis during that period. She is said to have an evitable record of meeting all her foreign obligations promptly 'when moratoria, defaults bankruptcies had been the order of the day in many ere-long prosperous countries.

Her 1932 output represents an increase of 199 per cent over 1928 and enjoyed increased national income of 85 percent.

" In these fifteen years Soviet Russia had been calm with a stable price level" complete international co-operation.

During the period of general depression the Soviet Union, had brought into being, gigantic enterprises including the electrification of the whole of the Soviet Union in a short period of 6 years for industrial and other purposes.

Of the immense capital for the investments for the execution of the first Five year plan, from 80 to 90 percent had been paid for, out of current budgetary revenue.

Her basic industries have been expanded to three or four times their 1913 capacity, and scores of new industries have been created.

"Whereas all her external business was conducted on a gold basis or on the currencies of the countries with which she traded, her internal economy was carried on with a managed or controlled currency.

She has to solve no unemplymont problem, as every adult is engaged in a job and given remuneration adequate enough for the efficient upkeep of his or her family.

The Soviet Union is making rapid progress in every direction. What humanity is seeking for, is a social order in which wealth and welfare could co-exist. This type of society, is not realised through the Five-year Plan. In the Soviet society, workers are well fed, well clotted, well housed well educated and provided with all possible social amenities.

The Association owns all kinds of property and controls all the means of production.

The Soviet Union in a crude sense of the term is an association of workers for the performance of functions relating to the three aspects of man who is at once a producer, consumer and citizen.

The following paragraphs mainly are culled from the six articles contributed by Mr. Webbfrom 1932 in the columns of the " Current History.

"The Five Year Plan Soviet Russia is a Federal republic and is composed of forty-eight federal units. The plan includes with in its scope not only industry and agriculture or merely wealth production but the whole of the effort whether in connection with the material goods or with public services with the improvement of the mind or with the development of the arts, of the entire population."

"For the execution of the plan, a highly organised and technically efficient department is established at Mas

Cone. This is called Gosplan department, It has its branches in every regional area. The department is responsible to cabinet which controls every business. The prime aim of the plan is that "every one has to be maintained and provided with equal opportunities for the development of body and mind,"

"It determines quota of production for each class of goods and for each locality.

"But of the assumed aggregate production, it is to decide how much in the ensuing year should take the form of consumable goods, foodstuffs cultural needs and how much to take the form of the capital goods, additional buildings, machinery and great works of improvement and it is also to decide as to specific requirements under each head.

"Every enterprise whether mine or factory bank or shopping department hospital or university is studied in the light of what it intends or is expected to do, during the ensuring year the amounts and kinds of serries to be produced.

The consumer's Co-operative Societies compiles exact statistics as to the number whom they severally expect to have to supply the amounts and kinds of commodities, they will demand, the labour staff that will be employed and financial results and so on.

Statistical Laboratory :

"This is built up by the largest staff of trained workers and is the most gigantic statistical library that the world has ever seen."

The object is to enable directions to be given to every enterprise and establishment in the U.S.S.R, as to the amount by which its operations may be increased or diminished. Aggregate demand and aggregate production must be made to balance :" To achieve this the laboratory was established.

The work of production is carried on by three agencies.

(*a*) Government.

(*b*) Consumer's co-operation

(*c*) Voluntary associations of producers.

(*a*) *Organization and management of business.*

(*a*) *State agency.* The central authority is concentrated in a cabinet in Moscow. There are fifteen ministers. Thirteen of them are in charge of production and distribution. There are about 100 boards or trusts and each of them is responsible for a particular branch of production.

Each trust appoints a manager or director for each business and he conducts his business subject to the supermision of the Board. There are about 1,000 separate managers in charge of all enterprises. They appoint workmen technicians of every kind. Each trust has its own hierarchy of services and departments.

(*b*) *Consumer's Co-operation.* It is a colossal net-work of Self-Governing consumer's Co-operative Societies. It has a hierarchy of Self-Governing bodies numbering more than 46,000 and they are united to a central organization at Moscow. It owns and manages various kinds of enterprises.

(*c*) *Voluntary Associations of producers.* They are helped by the Government and they are to sell their products according to the quota fixed to them by the Government and cooperative societies. There are 25,000 associations of producers and there are thousands of self-governing workshops in charge of them, there are 226,000 collective forms replacing 18,000,000 small peasant holdings.

Its structure is built in this way. There is no separate Union for each craft. Every union represents one particular enterprise. Each union elects a a factory council for each enterprise under its control. The Council Co-operates with the management in making the enterprise a success.

DUTIFUL UNTO THE LAST

By

V. Vaidhyanathan.

(1)

A thatched cottage—a quiet abode—standing in the midst of verdant rice fields, and located at a corner, far remote from the madding crowd of the village.

In front of this cottage, a tiny garden where beautiful and sweet-smelling flowers blossomed; where the bees whose spirits were animated by the honey that they had stolen from the flowers, were restlessly buzzing about; and where

"one might swoon drunken with beauty then, or gaze and gaze on a primeval Eden, in amaze."

And inside this tiny garden, basking in the morning sun was a tall slim figure with dark eyes that always distinguish the innocent few from the arrogant multitude; a thoughtful forehead; a clear-cut aquiline nose; parched lips that hid behind them two neat rows of pearl-while teeth; and dressed in a ragged cloth that always characterizes the members of the depressed classes—nay, the oppressed classes—from the oppressing classes.

A simple man rid of all the cares that fall to the lot of the rich; with a graceful smile which whenever it made its appearance and it always did—added fresh beauty to the beautiful countenance; and with a trustworthy nature that was wholy responsible for his being regarded as the only honest man in the whole village...... Such was Kandan, the *pannial* of Veerasami Aiyar of Ayyampet.

(2)

Veerasami Aiyar was the Rockefeller of Ayyampet—a small village near Tanjore where once the Cholas flourished in all their splendour. He was the owner of large estates; he lived in a palatial residence; and wherever he went a bodyguard of five or six servants accompanied him. He was a strict master; an ill-tempered, vicious, haggard sort of man. A meanly parsimonious person, Aiyer would never lose a pie for nothing; and even if he got anything he would spend the least on it. An unbeliever in the very existence of God, a self important arrogant individual, he was not at all liked by many of the villagers. But he had wealth, and "the doors of the world are barred with gold and open to golden keys *alone*."

(3)

It was a cheerful morning a week after the great festival of Makara Sankaranthi. The harvest season had already made its appearance And majestically seated in his glorious chaise drawn by celestial steeds, the supreme sun was coming up in the east.

"Cocoanuts stolen, my lord!"

With this intelligence Perumal darted into the presence of Veerasami Aiyar. Aiyar turned towards him startled.

"Cocoanuts stolen?" he cried with beads of perspiration on his forehead.

"Yes, my lord" came the hasty reply.

Aiyar flared up.

"Stolen?" he again interrogated with immense surprise.

Perumal again replied "Yes."

"Where, you infernal creature? Why are you shivering?" thundered Aiyar.

"In our estates, my lord. As soon as I got up from bed this morning, I went to our garden with a view to water the brinjals. But just when I raised my eyes a little I saw all the cocoanut trees naked and bare. And I immediately............" His sentence trailed away into inaudibility.

Never before in his lifetime had Veerasami Aiyar received such startling news. His eyes were becoming ruddy.

"We must take immediate steps to spot the thief, Perumal" said he and jumped from the pial into the street.

Numerous were the inquiries made with regard to the thief, but without any perceptible result. The local *talayari* was then summoned and the news of the theft narrated to him. He remained thoughtful for a few minutes and then recollected how on the previous day he had seen Kandan selling five cocoa-nuts in the local toddy shop.

Kandan was immediately summoned. The magisterial functionary of the village met and found him guilty. In vain did Kandan plead innocence. But his pitiable cries for justice fell on deaf ears; and the poor man was sentenced to be whipped.

But was Kandan really guilty of the theft? No, he was not.

(4)

Sswack!.......Sswack !.......Sswack! sounded the whip going up and coming down with sickening regularity. Blood was trickling down from the limbs of the wretched victim. His eyes were half-closed; and his body was slowly sinking down.

The blows fell rapidly; thirty strokes were delivered within the space of ten minntes. The next stroke, alas, what a stroke it was, brought the poor man to the ground.

"Dead?" A murmur ran through the crowd.

No, Kandan was not dead.

(5)

Six heavy months rolled away.

It was a moon-lit night. A light-wheeled cart drawn by two swift-footed oxen and driven by a middle.....aged youth was moving at a rapid rate along a lonely road near Tanjore. Inside the cart was seated a burly gentleman with eyes that were blinking continually; a mouth stuffed with betels; features irregular; and limbs disproportionate.

This gentleman was Veerasamy Aiyar of Ayyampet. Having attended the marriage of his wife's nephew, he was returning to his village.

The moon was striking full in the faces of Aiyar and the youth. The oxen were gradually slackening their paces and the cart began to move slowly.

"Twelve miles yet to go, my lord" said the youth, suddenly marring the silence of the scene, and turned towards Aiyar.

Aiyar was silent. He was in the land of Nod.

The cart suddenly came to a shop. A shiver ran through the boy. Aiyar woke up and got down from the vehicle. And there before him stood a stalwart ruffian with eyes that sparkled in the moonlight.

"Down with your money or part with your life!" thundered the stranger.

Aiyar got terribly frightened.

"What do you say?" roared the ruffian.

Aiyar could not reply.

Just when the ruffian began to lay his hand on Aiyar, a slim figure jumped into their midst. Aiyar was startled.

The stranger drew back. The figure darted at him and dealt severe blows on his back. A wild fight ensued. The slim figure was ducking, stopping and escaping the blows of his opponent. The ruffian fell down; but suddenly rising up, he dealt a heavy blow on his adversary's head and ran away into the wilderness.

The figure lay motionless on the ground. Aiyar switched on his battery and looked at his valorous saviour. No sooner had he done so than he drew back in surprise. He could not believe his eyes.

The body was that of Kandan, whom he had treated cruelly a few months back.

(6)

It was a tiny procession moving solemnly to the sonorous music of drums. A slender body decked gorgeously all over with wreaths of flowers was being carried in a frame of bamboo-wood by four members, who, to all appearance, seemed to belong to the so-called depressed classes.

The morning was gloomy. The sun, afraid of beholding such a terrible sight as this solemn procession, was concealed behind a thick screen of black clouds. The air was languid and the tranquillity of the scene was marred now and then by the hooting of the demon-eyed owls.

The procession arrived at the burning ghat. The body, was carefully taken out and laid on the floor. Pieces of wood and other fuels were placed on the body so as to cover it completely. And a slender hand trembling all over emerged from the tiny crowd and set fire to the pyre.

The hand was that of Kandan's eight-year-old son.

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SANCTIONS, BUT TO WHAT END?

By

Vernon Bartlett

Sanctions are in force. For the first time in history the great majority of governments, at considerable loss to themselves, have united in their attempt to bring a war to a close. They have asked their people to accept sacrifices exceeded only by those that would be involved if they were fighting a war instead of trying to stop one. There has been none of the hysterical patriotism with which almost any politician can persuade almost any people to put on uniforms and to march into battle. The enforcement of sanctions has been a steady, cold-blooded affair which has given every enemy of the League the opportunity to whisper his negative counsels into doubting ears.

But there has been no hesitation. Almost without exception governments have faced up to their responsibilities in a way which has astonished even those who have talked most optimistically about sanctions in the past. There is, for example, the small State of San Salvador, facing towards the Pacific and with nothing to gain by quarrelling with Italy. As much as 12 percent of her exports go to that country. She has risked that trade without question. She was the first State to recognise the puppet State of Manchukuo, but she has made no excuses on this occasion. She is merely one State of many that have not shirked their obligations. There has been amazingly little self-pity and an amazing amount of self-sacrifice.

All this has been underestimated in the British Press because it had at one time seemed that more drastic sanctions were to be introduced, and the comparatively slow and unsensational pressure of economic factors has seemed relatively unimportant. It would have been more effective and in the long run more humane to close the Suez Canal. The war would already be over and Italy would be willing to accept any terms that the League cared to imposs. It is better to cut off supplies to the troops than to starve a people into submission and to endanger the economic stability of half a dozen other States in the progress. A bold British demand for a blockade would probably have won as much support in Geneva as the introduction of financial and economic sanctions has done. But Mr. Eden's instructions were not to take the lead and he could never be sure that, when he did so, he would have full Cabinet approval, He has disobeyed his orders as magnificently as Nelson ever did, and with results as valuable to British power and prestige.

But in this one respect French lack of logic overcame him. It is only logical that a French failure to carry out League obligations to the full when the British were anxious to act will inevitably be used as an excuse for an equivalent British failure when the French are anxious to act. The delay in promising that French ports will be available for British ships will be remembered in Whitehall long after M. Laval's profession of fidelity to the Covenant are forgotten. The only way to deal with the French premier was to face him with a series of *faits accompli*. Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Eden together might have accomplished the deed of blockading Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. Mr. Eden alone could not do so. But there is no reason to imagine that the milder forms of sanctions will be less effective in the long run.

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Italy, then, will be forced into submission. But on what terms and for what purpose? It is possible that there is nothing in the widespread expressions of uneasiness over the League's future beyond the exaggerations that go with an ill-timed election. Possible, but unfortunately improbable. Many people in many countries have supported the League only for their own ends. In our own country some wished to reassert British predominance in the Mediterranean. Some wanted to find an excuse for larger armaments. Some were determined to make the best election use of the eleven million peace balloters. People in those three groups are not going to push home the League's victory. Their enthusiasm will disappear like autumn leaves before a gale. With them will be those financiers who care nothing for principles but a great deal for dividends. With them, too, will be those who fear that a collapse in Italy will bring Bolshevism nearer home. The League has only half-succeeded, and it will need all the energy of all its supporters to make its success complete.

There is already all this mischievous nonsense about three-party negotiations. Why should France and Great Britain take it upon themselves to talk to a country which should by rights have been turned out of the League in disgrace? The task is not, as Sir Samuel Hoare has suggested, to mediate between the attacker and his victim, but to bring such pressure to bear on the attacker that he must make amends for his crime. One can best appreciate the absurdity of premature negotiation by treating nations as individuals. A man, Abyssinia, is attacked by another and more powerful one, Italy. He appeals, as he has the right to do, to the courts. One member of the bench, France, takes it upon himself to settle the dispute, not by enforcing the law, but by carrying on conversations with the criminal from which not only the victim of aggression but also the other members of the bench are excluded. Because it is now suggested that Great Britain should join France in this work, and because they have both promised to make no proposals of conciliation that are outside the law, everybody else is expected to be delighted.

The position needs to be put thus, crudely, because the smaller nations are not delighted and many of them feel that they have been more or less tricked. They have no faith in the Great Powers. Within the last five years two of them, Japan and Italy, have made wars of aggression. One of them, Germany, has left the League altogether. Another, France, has been the leader of that small band of countries that have tried to avoid carrying out sanctions in the present instance. Small wonder that those countries whose size compels them to depend more upon the force of justice then upon the force of arms are alarmed lest there should be some compromise solution which fails to teach other would-be aggressors that aggression does not pay.

Those who have voted for sanctions will be guilty of a terrible crime—as great as that of Signor Mussolini himself—unless they have the courage and the persistence to see that they fulfil their purpose. Their purpose is not to humiliate the Italians. We have seen too many cases in civil law in which a revengeful sentence turns a first offender into a hardened and dangerous criminal. But on the other hand justice is tempered not by mercy but by weakness when a crime is condoned. All the sacrifice—Italian and international—will have been in vain if, under the pleasant formula about honourable terms for Italy, Abyssinia and the League, Haile Selassie is persuaded to give Mussolini more than he could have obtained by accepting the proposals of the League's Committee of Five. Those terms were drawn up before Italy went to war.

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General Secretary.

They were unduly favourable in order that she might be encouraged to abandon so disturbing an adventure. Why should she be allowed to think that, if she cannot get all she wants by force of arms, she will be given most of it by the League?

We have no right to temper justice with mercy at Ethiopia's expense. Even the cession of Tigre and other upland provinces would not remove Italy's sense of grievance; it would inevitably encourage that of Germany. It is no solution still further to embitter the backward, coloured races without colonies to go in and grab them. The Italians are good colonisers, but by no conceivable effort could they settle more than about 10 per cent of their unemployed in Abyssinia, and they would have to spend enormous sums on their military protection against disgruntled tribesmen. But they and the Germans have real and legitimate grievances which must be righted if we are to avoid another war as soon as one or both of them can be ready to fight.

By what right, for example, is Great Britain able at any moment to turn the Mediterranean into a closed sea? By what right have two or three powers a world monopoly of essential raw materials? It is quite true, as Sir Samuel Hoare has pointed out in Geneva, that in normal times there is the greatest possible readiness to sell these raw materials to any body who will buy them. But the countries that have to buy are not always in a position to export enough to obtain them in adequate quantities, and whenever a crisis comes along the supply may cease abruptly.

By degrees, with the help of the cinema, the radio and the aeroplane, the old mistrusts and ignorances are being broken down. It is probably true that we are quite near a time when, politically and ethnographically, frontiers will cease to have any importance. Only the economic factor remains as an impassable barrier, and somehow it must be destroyed. Even now we have a most impressive example of the slavery in which the lack of raw materials may place a people. It is generally recognized that, if a strict embargo were imposed on the export to Italy of petroleum, she would be compelled to surrender, whatever the successes of her troops, within a few weeks. Her struggle to obtain regular supplies of oil from Iraq is an epic. It is also a disaster, because at any moment the British fleet, sure of its own supplies by a pipe line to Palestine, can cut off oil produced by Italian capital. If this is done as part of an international sanction against a nation that has deliberately destroyed world security by starting a war, well and good. But can Italy or any other country short of raw materials be sure that the control will never be enforced except on the side of the law?

This problem of the distribution of raw materials is far more important than the possession of chunks of Africa or of Europe. Sanctions are, one believes, going to succeed in compelling Italy to sue for peace. Nevertheless, they will have failed if the peace terms are along the old lines. Somehow these natural resources must be pooled, and the British Government would be far better advised to study methods of doing this than to seek compromises which will make Italy the richer only by the possession of a little more African territory, grudgingly yielded by its natural inhabitants until the Black races are powerful and united enough to take them back again. The way to add to our wealth is not to open up new countries for the mass production of raw materials but to secure an assured distribution of those raw materials which are already produced, and can find no purchasers.

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF MARX'S THOUGHT

Marx was not born a full-blown Communist. His final view was reached through a dialectical process in his own thought. Communists sometimes speak as though this made it reasonable to disregard all but the final expression of Marx's view. But to anyone, whether Communist or not, who accepts dialectic, it is simply a mistake. The end of a dialectical process, the final synthesis, must be understood dialectically. If it is torn from its setting in the historical development through which it has come into being, it is necessarily misunderstood. It would equally he a misunderstanding of Marx to separate the early stages of his thought from their conclusion, though not to the same extent. For they *are* earlier stages, and they can only be fully understood in terms of the theory which is their final outcome, they are historically earlier, and the conclusion was not explicitly in the mind of Marx when his earlier works were written.

Any account of the development of Marx's thought starts naturally from the long letter to his father, dated to 10th November, 1837. That letter reveals three things which are the roots of Marx's subsequent growth. He is deeply conscious of the time in which he lives as a climax and turning point in world history, and he sees his own intellectual problem as a reflection of this universal crisis. He has to make a new departure in thought, and he sees this personal decision as if the whole previous history of humanity had to take a critical decision in and through himself. We find, in the second place, that this is bound up in his mind with the task of carrying philosophy beyond the point to which Hegel had brought it. He has made several attempts to do this, and is filled with chagrin to find that all his efforts end up where Hegel is already, half playfully, "the enemy," and, against his will, his thought delivers him like a traitor into the enemy's hands. Lastly, we see that he has already vaguely defined what it is in that philosophy from which he wishes to escape. He is determined to seek for the Idea in things themselves. Hegel produces the Idea like a conjurer bringing rabbits out of a hat. The young Marx wants to find the Idea for himself in the empirical reality which it offers to interpret, but he does not see how this is to be done. To Marx, as to other thinkers of the time who had come under the spell of Hegel's massive intellectual achievement, it seemed that Hegel had at last completed the development of speculative philosophy. The process could be carried no further. But history was not at an end. It was necessary for thought to find a new line of advance. The question that faces Marx, as it faced all other Hegelians of the time, is the question, "After Hegel—what?"

To this question Marx devoted himself in the thesis which he wrote for his doctorate in Philosophy. He saw that the problem was not a new one altogether in the history of philosophy. The same situation had arisen in Greek philosophy with its culmination as a speculative development in Aristotle The clue which he was seeking might. therefore, be found by asking what happened to Greek philosophy after Aristotle. The answer is that with its

completion as a speculative system, philosophy becomes practical. It seeks the realisation of philosophy in the lives of men and their societies. Philosophy, which has hitherto developed itself as idea, seeks its own embodiment in action. Of much that is interesting in the development of this analysis, and its application to his own time, there is one point which is determinative. Thinkers are not themselves men of action. Yet they are faced in such periods with the task of bringing theory and practice into relation. They can only do it, being philosophers, theoretically. Yet, philosophy, of which they are vehicles, is seeking its further development, not in theory, but in action. The result is necessarily paradoxical. There are two lines between which the thinker must choose in this predicament. Philosophy, he sees, has reached the climax of its development in Idea. It is now the final expression of the historic reality of the world in thought; and yet, when one turns from the truth which completely expresses the nature of the world to the actuality of the world itself, one finds that the two are contradictory. The world in its actual structure rejects the truth about itself. The dialectic which hitherto has set one incomplete idea in opposition to another, now sets the completed Idea over against its antithesis in the empirical actuality of history. It is these two, Idea and Fact, which have to find their synthesis. Since the antithesis is no longer an opposition of ideas, the the synthesis can no longer be a synthesis in idea. Reality which has completed itself in idea, in, the philosophy of Hegel, and the actual world in which we act and live, which is incomplete, must move from opposition into unity.

Now, for the thinker, this may mean one of two things. It may mean that he stands on the completion of his philosophy and seeks to alter the world by action in terms of the philosophy. The philosophy becomes for him an ideal to which the world must be made, by his action, to conform. On the other hand, he may turn to the empirical study of the world, and from an empirical investigation may seek to develop another theory which will express the actual nature of the world as it is, in opposition to the ideal philosophy which the world contradicts. The practical philosophy which follows the completion of the speculative task will thus itself divided into two opposing schools which have chosen one or other of these lines. From the purely theoretical side these two schools (they are, in fact, the Idealist and Realist schools in post-Hegelian philosophy), will seem to be the defenders and the opponents of the system of speculative idealism. But their debate really refers to the practical issue which underlies it. As a result, says Marx, each of the two schools succeeds in doing what its opponent set out to do, and fails to fulfil its own intention. The Liberals, as Marx calls them, who set out to maintain the Idea while transforming the world in its likeness make no difference to the world, but they *do* destroy the Idea of which they are the professed defenders. Their opponents, in their attack upon the Idea, do not succeed in changing the Idea, but they do initiate changes in the world. They get at least so far as to set up tendencies and movements which have a practical significance for the transformation of society. This paradox is an inevitable outcome of the effort after the synthesis of Idea and Fact—of Theory and Action. For it is the Idea itself which is seeking to pass into action, and thinkers in whom this tendency expresses itself will feel at once the tension between the Idea as they apprehend it in idea, and the pressure of the Idea in themselves towards action. The idea itself will be felt by them as "the enemy" precisely because it is merely idea, and as such antithetical to action. The defence of

the Idea as Idea by a group of philosophers will merely signify their resistance to the Idea's own tendency towards self-realisation. The resolution of the paradox lies simply in the fact that the thinkers are thinkers, while their objective is action. The effort to unite idea and actuality, to fuse theory and practice, appears as the antithesis of the effort to maintain the purity of the idea in its ideal isolation from the world.

This is a critical point for the understanding of Marx's intellectual development. His conflict with Hegelian idealism does not imply dissatisfaction with Hegelianism as theory. Hegelianism remains for Marx, and always did remain, the final and necessary culmination of philosophical theory as such. His opposition to it is a dialectical opposition. It does not mean that Hegel's philosophy is untrue, but that truth is not everything. Truth must complete itself by creating its own antithesis. It cannot develop any further as truth. It must enter into some synthetic relation with that over against which it stands, the reality to which it refers. It is impossible, therefore, for Marx to turn away from one theory to another theory. It is equally impossible to turn away from theory to any activity in which theory is not a necessary element. Equally, as a convinced Hegelian in theory, it is impossible for him to turn from philosophy to empirical science. The scientific point of view is itself an abstract point of view, which has been overcome and trancended in the philosophical synthesis of Hegelianism. What, then, was he to do? His answer was that he must develop a new kind of thinking, which he called "Historical Critical Activity." This consisted in examining the historical facts in the light of the philosophical idea, and it led straight to a critique of the Hegelian philosophy of the State. Before touching upon this, we must consider why it is that it is the sociological field which Marx enters, armed for the purpose with the Hegelian Idea. The reason should be obvious to any student of of Hegel. The development of the Absolute Idea first comes to self-consciousness in man. The development of the self-conscious Idea in man reaches its culmination in the Hegelian philosophy, as idea. The Hegelian philosophy culminates in the philosophy of the State. It is, therefore, in relation to the Hegelian philosophy of the State, in which the purely ideal development reaches concreteness, that the return to the world of historical actuality must be made. In no sense is there a transition from speculative philosophy to empirical science. No Hegelian could be guilty of such a blunder. It is the further development of philosophy that is in question, and, as we have seen, that further development can only lie in the future of human development. The antithesis on which the further development rests is the antithesis between the completed Idea (the Hegelian Theory of Society) and the actual structure of the society, still in historical process, to which the idea of society refers. Hegel has produced the final ideal embodiment of the nature of human society. But what produced Hegel? An actual, very imperfect, very transitory Prussian State, at the end of the eighteenth century. If we then turn to examine the actual Prussian State which has produced the idea of itself through one of its functionaries, a Professor of Philosophy in its University of Berlin, we can see whether or not it is an actual embodiment of its own idea of itself, and, if it is not, we can ask what Prussia proposes to do about it. The rest lies in the future. Theoretically what is necessary is now a dialectical sociology which will explain the discrepancy between Prussia and Prussia's idea of Prussia. Practically it is the conflict between the truth of the Idea

and its own actual constitution, which must force the development of Prussia by revealing its failure to realise its own essential nature. This, however, is only a particular way of putting it. The Hegelian philosophy of society is the culmination in Idea of world history. It applies to society as such. What is required in general is a correct account of the stage which the development of human society has actually reached in the contemporary world. It is this that has to be brought into opposition with the completed development of the idea of human society which is the culmination of Hegel's thought. And this account, though in a sense it must be empirical, must itself be dialectical. In other words, the stage of development which has actually been reached in human society must be understood dynamically in terms of the historical process which has brought it into being, and which is not yet complete. Obviously no empirical scientist is in a position to give such an account. A dialectical sociology could only be developed in the light of a dialectical philosophy, and for Hegel science is necessarily undialectical. The process of historical-critical activity is, therefore, primarily the process of creating a dialectical sociology.

(*From Christianity and the Social Revolution— V. Gollancer*).

THE WORKERS' FRONT.

By

A. Madhava Menon

In my last article, (New Age: Volume II No. 7) I mentioned that we have to give importance to the organisation of the agricultural proletariat. I was fully conscious of the fact that the peasants are very difficult to be organised. They will have to be given very sound training in the organisation. Before that or rather, simultaneously with that we should work for the organisation of the industrial workers. Thus in the near future we can consolidate the workers' front with the organised strength of the peasants of the country behind it. Such an organisation will be able to change the existing order of society and create a new social order.

In our country there are various types of peasants. In certain walks of agriculture, the workers are as advanced in political consciousness and are as alert as the industrial workers. Take for example, the cocoanut farming. Many of the products of the cocoanut are made with the assistance of groups of workers. They are organised to that extent. The workers in the coir industry are as susceptible to organisation as the most advanced industrial proletariat of the country.

As Mr. Satyanathan remarks in his report, "it is not true that this country is not industrial, but is agricultural; it may be said, the chief industry of the country is agriculture." The peasants are therefore as fit for organisation as the industrial workers in this country.

The one important fact to be noticed about the coming Indian Social Democratic Revolution will be that the entire move will have to come from the organised proletarian class. Industrial workers, backed up by the peasants of the country will have to lead the Indian Revolution to victory. Since the interests of the Indian Zamindars and the Capitalists class are linked up too closely with the in-

terests of British Imperialism it is sure that the sacking of British Imperialism will be followed by a violent overthrow of the Indian capitalist class and its obsolete traditions. And they are not unaware of this. Hence we cannot expect any sort of help from that section of Indian Society in India's fight for Political Freedom. As regards the fight for economic freedom, the only thing that can achieve the same will be a well-organised workers' front and nothing else.

The workers are the vanguard of the Nation. Unless and until this is accepted and workers' organisation is undertaken by the national workers, we can no way expect India to acheive Political and Economic Independence.

India's industrial population is an asset for her fight. We can boldly assert without any anxiety that India can acheive her freedom through the industrial working class alone, if properly organised, assisted by the agriculturist workers.

Leninism is practically applicable here. Leninism may be defined as "the Marxism of the epoch of imperialist wars as the latest state in the Development of Capitalism, in the World Revolution, which first began in a country *where the peasantry preponderate.*" Hence I think that Leninism offers a sound solution to the present ills of India. Whatever might be said against this, the fact remains that India's ills have to be effaced and that can be done only by the organised action of her workers and peasants. Thus, while we must stress on the organisation of the peasantry, whilst we expect the peasantry to lead the struggle for India's Freedom, we should not lack behind in organising the industrial workers. Only with a very well-organised industrial working-class will India's peasants be able to face the struggle against British Imperialism. While the country is more than 80 per cent agriculturist, the importance of the small industrial proletariat cannot be denied, because organised action is many times easier and more effective on the part of the industrial working-class than on the reticent agriculturist.

Organisation of industrial labour entails a lot of trouble such as strikes, repression and failures but when once undertaken, if properly led this can go on and there alone lies the salvation of India's teeming millions.

To sum up, while we are busily engaged in organising the peasants of the country, we should keep an eye on the organisation of the Industrial workers. A sound class-consciousness and a new spirit should breathe throughout the length and breadth of the country and should mark the aim of the revolution.

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NATIONALISM--DANGEROUS?

A Rejoinder

Dear Editor,

The November issue of your Journal published an article by Comrade Damodaran under the caption "Is not Nationalism Dangerous?" and I was surprised, naturally enough, to find that Damodaran was a bit out of the real angle of vision which one would want a socialist to take. If he had only mentioned that he meant only aggressive Nationalism, I would not have troubled myself with the object of contradicting him. But he says that under no condition can nationalism be a revolutionary force. I would like to examine this statement from a historical point of view.

Let us examine the case of Russia, the one and the only Country which has a proletarian Government. The aggressive Nationalism of Kerensky itself proved an asset to the October Revolution. Again, the Russian proletariat did not stop to see the European proletariat come and fight out their salvation. With their will and the resources at their disposal, the Russian Nation fought out its salvation. Even to-day, there is a hinge of that nationalism in them; but it is their bane, I admit.

In his eagerness to prove the Congress Socialist Party a bogus, or rather, to style as bourgeoise, Comrade Damodaran goes to the extent of saying that the Congress is an imperialist organisation. There I agree to disagree with him. Whatever be the causes and consequences of the present situation, whatever be the wrongs and committals the Congress has made, the Congress stands for anti-imperialism. The resolution of Jan. 26. 1931 and its latter repetitions are in essence manifestation of its anti-imperialist mentality. Again, I draw the attention of all to the fundamental Rights Resolution of Karachi.

The present leadership of the Congress is using nationalism for their own purposes. It is for the radical element in the Congress to correct this mistake and use it as a revolutionary force. The radicals should sift the Congress movements and throw away the chaff—the renegades of Indian Nationalism—and consolidate the anti-imperialist front.

Just as the individualist who arguining for individual liberty throws open the tariff wall of his stores for international co-operation, when he attains power, the revolutionary nationalist will, when he attains power, extend and enlarge his ideas to adjust to changing conditions. I am not speaking of bourgeois nationalism and I do not believe that this sentiment, nationalism, is the monopoly of the bourgeoise.

Even before human unity is attained oppressed people will have to carry on a strenuous struggle and even before international arrangements are made about patriotic suspicions and jealousies, it is necessary that the common mind of the people should be possessed of an idea of national welfare and good and then alone can they understand mankind as our family.

When all is said, I again repeat Mr. Masani's argument that in India and such oppressed countries, nationalism, instead of being a reactionary force, is a strong revolutionary force. If not, may I ask Comrade Damodaran to chalk out a programme of action for the radical political elements in the country?

A. Madhava Menon.

PACIFISTS DEFENDING IMPERIALISM

THE COLLECTIVE SYSTEM MEANS WAR

By **Frank H. Simonds**

(*From the "Nation," New York*)

Mr. Frank Simonds is probably the most famous American commentator on international affairs. His views are certainly shared by a vast number of his compatriots, Democrats as well as Republicans.
—EDITOR.

In the contemporary crisis two imperialisms, the British and the Italian, are in shock. The former is satiated and therefore on the defensive; the latter is hungry and thus on the offensive. One is seeking to protect an empire created by conquest; the other is striving by conquest to create an empire. Under these circumstances the League of Nations and every other instrument designed to forward collective action to restrain aggression become automatically the weapon of the satisfied imperialism.

What, in effect, Liberals and Socialists are now asked to do is to defend an old imperialism against a new. Because the new cannot realise its aims save by war, the old is able no mobilise to its own ends, which have nothing whatever to do with real peace, the thoughtless friends of peace all over the world. And because the present aggression is the work of Fascists, there is an additional incentive to liberals and Socialists to join in the effort to restrain Italy.

Neverthless, there is no more reason that Great Britain should stay in Egypt or the Sudan than that Italy should seize Ethiopia. If you reject the whole thesis of imperialism you cannot, even as a matter of expediency, side with one against the other at any given moment. And if you are opposed to war as a matter of principle, you cannot consistently support war in the present or any similar circumstances.

If in the Ethiopian crisis the British are able to mobilise against Italy the opponents of war in the world and if, as seems likely, to accomplish their ends they also promise to help Franee in a similar mobilisation of world opinion against Germany should she resort to force to chānge the *status quo* of Versailles, than the result must be to perpetuate injustice in the name of peace and to make impossible any future adjustments such as can alone prevent eventual conflict.

What is happening to-day, in my judgment, is what Ponsonby, Cripps, and Morrison of the British Labour Party somewhat tardily realised. In a word, the British Tory Government is exploiting the British peace sentiment to smash the inconvenient undertaking of Italian imperialism. It is ready to risk and even to make war because the recent plebiscite in England provided it with a mandate to use force, if necessary, to restrain any nation guilty of aggression. But its object will not be to serve the cause of peace but that of imperial security.

Germany Will Move Next

If, moreover, war results, Italy wil presumably be crushed and the reper cussions of this war for peace will b

felt all over Europe, Asia, and Africa. Once Italy is broken and can no longer play a role in Austria, Germany will certainly move again, and then the same question which arose out of the Ethiopian affair will reappear in an Austrian crisis. And with precisely as much justice as in the present case, the friends of peace the world over will be called upon to defend the *status quo* on the Continent, this time by the French.

In one word, the collective system constitutes a deadly peril for the friends of peace because it inevitably involves them in a series of operations which not merely must end in war but also must compel them to give their approval of war. If, for example, Britain closed the Suez Canal and Italy retaliated by bombing Malta, does anyone imagine the British would take such an injury lying down?

Every collective action must come either to futility or to war in the face of any nation resolved to modify the *status quo* at all costs. The *status quo* of to-day is, more-over, such, both territorially and economically, that at least three great powers have resolved to achieve revision, even at the cost of war. And Japan has already accomplished this purpose. She did it with impunity, too, because the material interests of other nations did not in their eyes justify resort to war to halt an armed country which could not otherwise be stopped.

The moment Liberals and Socialists begin to compromise with principle, the very instant they permit temporary emotions and sympathies to persuade them to adopt a course of expediency, they are lost. Either they are against war or they are for it. Either they believe all wars are bad or they are the assured victims of satiated imperialisms which have no other object than to make the League and all its works the moral facade for their edifices based upon past wars of plunder and aggression. Once the British Tories, for example, saw the British peacemakers committed to the use of sanctions, which inescapably involved war, then they could safely mobilise their fleets and concentrate their troops in the Mediterranean, and the world was again on the edge of a first-class war. Then, all of a sudden, we were back in the atmosphere of 1914 and Liberalism and Socialism were one more in disarray.

To prevent Italy from indulging in an act of pure aggression against Ethiopia, Liberals and Socialists found themselves condemned to approve a British project of coercion conceived as a means of preserving the security of the vital lines of imperial communication running through the Red Sea to India. To me it seems incredible that American Liberals should have failed to grasp this truth ultimately or that British Labour leaders should have been slow in discovering the fix into which they have permitted themselves to be manœuvred.

The war to end war proved an utter futility. Does anyone believe a war to prevent war would be less a folly? And does anyone think that if liberalism and Socialism allow themselves to be the accessories before the fact of a new war born of conflicting imperialisms, they will find themselves in better stead at its end than after the World War? No one can view Fascism, whether Italian or German, with greater distaste then I do. But much as I hate these forms of violence I love peace more and am unwilling to make war upon them to serve the ends of either British or French imperialism.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Congress Jubilee :

The Indian National Congress celebrated its Golden Jubilee on 28 December last. It thereby marks an epoch in the long political struggle in India against foreign rule. Though the National Congress at its first inception did not begin with any revolutionary ideas of reform, it claims today in the political sphere a place in the left wing, though this claim is bound to be questioned by many.

The Congress has always played the part of a moderate and diplomatic opposition, and has several times compromised with the foreign rulers during its career. But this is not to condemn its policy, but only to say that there is scope yet for more extreme Leftist views in Indian politics. The Congress loyalty to the Crown at its first few sessions, and its pacific agitation were both extreme and modern enough for the eighties of the last century. And to-day when the Congress claims complete severance of British rule in India, it is extreme to the Rightist parties and the Governmeut, while the Leftists are unsatisfied with this outlook of the Congress.

The Congress is an organisation controlled by vested interests where money and capitalist power play an important part. The common claim that the Congress represents the masses can only mean that the masses also want the cessation of foreign rule in India, a thesis to which any one can agree. But this is not to say, that the Congres represents the masses on all points. Side by side with the struggle against the foreigners, the Indian masses consisting of a vast heterogeneous collection of peasants, and industrial labourers have to enlist themselves in the great economic struggle against exploitation by the capitalist classes. These classes and other sections with vested interests are the result of centuries bourgeois domination, and these have been further accentuated by the British code of 'sanctity of contract.' The net result is a keen strife by the masses for their very existence.

The Congress has not cared to take up any attitude in this great problem. To the political liberation of India, this is the most crying need of the Indian masses. But the fact of the existence of moneyed interests within the ranks of the Congress is responsible for the prima facie neutrality of this body in this matter. The truth is that the decaying capitalist classes have, like rats in a sinking ship, deserted the ranks of the governing class in India, whose supporters they were all along, and have taken to the Congress to perpetuate their exploitation- Quite a large number of such members are therefore patriots by necessity not choice.

The Congress as a body controlled by such reactionary elements, cannot hope to take a lead in the cause of the masses. In fact. as was pointed out above, their claim to represent the masses is one-sided, They do not support the masses much less claim to represent them even when it comes to a question of the economic issue. For a party to rely merely on a political programme is an indication of its essential weakness, and however much the political problem is important in India, the economic question cannot be ignored.

That the Congress is mainly the organisation of the capitalist classes is obvious from the extremely meagre number and little power that is given to the Socialist group within the Con-

gress body. The industrialists and Zamindars are trying every means to keep the masses out of power, and when the Congress does succeed in establishing a native rule, the masses will have to seek other means to assert themselves.

Within the Congress itself it must not be overlooked, the present day is an era of progress. Under its present President, Babu Rajendra Prasad who is the most sincere man next to Mahatma Gandhi, the political awakening of the masses has been achieved to a great extent. While the other aims of the Congress regarding khadi, harijan problem, and social evils do recognise a desire to reform some of our evils, they are also designed to divert the more fundamental factor of the class struggle. But the political awakening will be the greatest achievement of the Congress, and thereby this body has taught the masses a sense of wrongs which may evoke feelings of unity to agitate not only against their foreign rulers, but also the internal enemies. But the Congress cannot carry on this later struggle on account of its bourgeois character. It must be left to the Socialists, an ever increasing group in this country.

The All-India Press Workers' Conference :

The second session of the All-India Press Worker's Conference which was held at Madras on 5th January was presided over by comrade K. N. Ramanna of Benares. The Presidential address makes a survey of the struggle of capitalism to free itself from the quagmire of economic depression, and a comparison is made with the conditions in Soviet Russia where Socialism is advancing from one triumph to another.

The Congress is criticised as a reactionary body with interests opposed to that of the masses, and the talk about office acceptance is condemned. Comrade Ramanna remarks that the real struggle against imperialism is yet to begin, and that all the medieval relics like the Native States and Zamindars should be abolished. The Congress Satyagraha movement is considered as just a bourgeois reactionary manouvre to the revolutionary agitation of the peasants. The President has also referred to the matters in which a really United Front can be presented, like Press Laws, Repression, Criminal Laws, New Constitution etc. It does not, he said, mean the merging of any Leftist organisation with reactionary bodies like the Congress, but common agitation on certain occasions alone.

He then made a general survey of some of the main grievances of Press Workers like overwork and bad conditions of work, system of piece wages in general. In conclusion he re-iterated the resolution carried in the first session of the All-India Press Conference at Lucknowto the effect that the Government should amend the Factory act and redress some grievances. He made a final exhortation to organise locally, provincially and on an All-India basis each according to his trade.

A major portion of the address thus represents an emphatic repetition of the struggle of the workers against capitalism. Comrade Ramanna has not made any special study of the grievances, method and strategy to be adopted by Press Workers in particular. An examination of class ideology, however desirable becomes extremely out of place if carried to a very great extent in an organisation that is confined to one special trade. It is necessary that the Presidents should make a careful study of the problems concerning the particular sphere in which they are asked to lead, and give wholesome advices as to how best to proceed with their tactics in individual cases.

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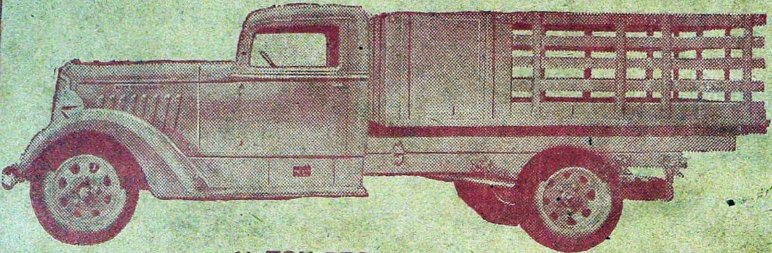

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